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Maricopa
Halchidhoma

The songs may not have been peculiar to this occasion. Informants mentioned vuspo", "deserted," ce, "buzzard," and vitari'c, "mountain killdeer," which were sung at other times as well. The Maricopa had pipa', "people," for both war and scalp dances; the Halchidhoma, hwicivau', "enemy standing." Ivâδo' was named as peculiarly appropriate: the song of a stinging insect living by the rivers. But these three may also have been used at other times.

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Pipa' told how the enemy fled for refuge and how they were found and brought as captives. It told ironically how, instead of being badly treated, they were well cared for; how a captive's father shed tears, not in sorrow, but for joy. Hwicivau', "standing up an enemy," told how a father acted when one of his family was taken prisoner or killed.

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The dance forms varied with the songs. For Buzzard, there were two opposing rows of men and women alternately, who moved backward and forward together. Anyone, young or old, took part. In the middle of one row was the singer flanked by a man on each side, all three provided with rattles. Killdeer had also a definite dance form, or more than one, but it does not seem that the description fits the war dance performance (p. 231). Deserted and Ivâδo' were songs without dancing: for the first, men and women remained seated, beating time with sticks on baskets; for Ivâδo', they simply sat in rings.

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It was assumed that before the war party set out, the shaman who was to accompany them had dreamed of their success. As they neared the enemy he exercised his clairvoyant power in the manner described below (p. 176) to reveal the location of the enemy. This was less necessary in the case of the Yuma, who lived in the open valley, than the Yavapai, who lay scattered among the mountains.

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Four set speeches were always delivered to the out-bound warriors by one who had dreamed of the mocking bird. These were known as xwimtcâkwe'ʀ^{a}, "enemy speech." In content, if not in form, they were highly formalized. The first speech, delivered the night before they set out, encouraged them to go. It told that they would go together and help one another. The next night, when they had stopped to rest, the orator would tell how

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537 726 everyone wished them good fortune. The subject of the third night's speech was how anxious they were to see the enemy and how they would fare. On the fourth night he would exhort them to be indifferent; to throw themselves on the enemy or all return together. "We have come to fight the enemy and whatever becomes of us will be all right. If we are killed, we die with honor, but we may succeed in taking a scalp." Four speeches must represent an ideal form: how it was adjusted to the days actually necessary to move to the attack, I do not know. It took twice that time to reach the Yuma; the Yavapai were met within a day or two. But it does indicate how formal was the whole war procedure.[15]

Orators used in all speeches the abrupt, staccato, forced delivery described for Mohave and Yuma.[16] There is now no living orator. Last Star described the manner of speaking as follows:

> When an orator called to the people in the morning, telling them to go for their day's food, his first three or four utterances were said slowly and quietly, then the rest was spoken forcibly, abruptly, and loudly.

PITCHED BATTLES AND RAIDS

726 So far as present information goes two quite different methods of warfare were used against Yuma-Mohave and Yavapai-Apache. At least the circumstantial detail given in what follows strongly indicates this. What it means in effect is that the Maricopa adapted themselves to the methods with which they had to contend: the highly formal pitched battle arranged by the lower Colorado tribes in contrast to the foray into the mountains against Yavapai and Apache. This does not mean that the element of surprise attack was lacking in the former nor that the latter lacked artificialities.

The pitched battle against the lower river tribes was attended by large forces on either side, who, if not succeeding in attempted surprise, gave notice of their intention, arranging for open hand-to-hand combat. Thus, the Pima annals record that

[171] [15] The Pima shared this delivery of four formal speeches on as many nights on the warpath but it does not seem that the content was the same (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 202).

[16] Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 209.

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toward morning, he "pushed him on," telling him that the other world was pleasant, the people were happy there, and he too would be happy. This was all in song; abruptly changing his text and hurrying on to the end. 763

The shaman was followed by an orator, who began to talk just before the sick man died. "When an elderly person was dying, he waited until the speaker came to talk to him, before dying." This speech, as well as those he delivers later, were stereotyped and peculiar to each point of the funeral. 937 763

The speaker reminded the old man how during the early part of his life he had come to love all people; how he thought his hunting trips were a pleasure to everyone who had gone with him; how he came to think his life all that the world could give him. He went on; that having had all these pleasures, he must now part with them. While he lived he knew how to place all the stars and how the sun and moon appeared. Now everything would change: he might never again see these things. If it was the way they said, he would go to the land of the dead. If it was not true, no one knew where he would go. This made the old man feel badly, too. It was always the case that at the end of the speech, the man was dead.

The speaker then addressed the relatives of the dead, telling them to be happy despite their loss. He encouraged them.

How long the corpse was kept before cremation (hutĭnyĭ'k) depended on the length of the last illness. Ordinarily it was kept but half a day, or if the death occurred at night, cremation followed in the morning. But if the person died suddenly after an illness of only a few days, they kept the corpse longer, a whole night or day. 764

The corpse was always carefully prepared: washed, dressed in its best, the hair combed, painted and decorated. It was wrapped in a cloth, tied above the head, with another cord tied around the waist and a third below the feet. These duties were performed by some elderly person outside the family, who was not paid, but served out of friendship and pity.

There was one proper method of preparing the pyre (iaðau'g, "wood pile") and arranging the corpse on it, dictated by practical considerations. A poorly constructed pyre would suddenly fall sidewise and dump out the corpse. Sometimes the pyre was built before the person died. A big post was set into the ground

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764 at the eastern end of the spot selected, so that it stood three feet high. Four smaller logs were laid on the ground in an east-west direction with one end touching the post: the inner pair were straight, the outer logs bowed and held in position by two smaller posts on each side of the large post (Fig. 12). Other layers of poles were laid on these until the pile rose to the height of the post at the eastern end. Dry arrowweed was stuffed between these layers on each side for kindling.

Six men were required to carry an adult corpse, three on a side. They took it from the house and laid it on the ground. The pyre was always near the house, perhaps fifty yards distant. Even in

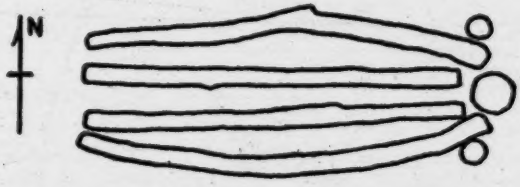

FIG. 12.—Arrangement of cremation pyre

this short distance, they laid the corpse down three times before arriving there. For the fourth time, they laid it beside the pyre, always on the south side. Each of the four times they halted, the [537] speaker delivered an oration. One man then stood on top of the pyre at its north edge. The others then handed the corpse up to him, which he clasped tightly around the shoulders. The corpse was laid with its head to the east and then turned on its right side so as to face the north. (It was never laid on face or back, but always on its side.) Then, reaching in the cloth at the feet, the right foot was drawn back (i.e. south), and thrust between the logs, the left foot was drawn forward and similarly secured. The purpose of this was to hold the corpse firmly on the burning logs, so that it would not drop down between them to burn in a lump. The deceased was placed with his head to the east so that when he "rose," he would face the west and see his dead relatives coming for him.

Clothing and blankets were piled over the whole pyre. These were contributed by every person who attended. If the dead was

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a man, his favorite horse decorated with paint (or several of them), was staked near by to be killed as soon as the pyre was lighted. The belief was that he could ride one to the land of the dead, packing the clothing, etc., on the others. [764] [775]

While the pyre was burning, an older man (called aume'va, "fire tender") poked with a long pole, running it under the corpse to let in the air, and pushing the blazing logs over the corpse so that it could not be seen. "For the relatives to see any of the corpse would make them sad." The end post was the last to finish burning. The breast and heart were held to be the last parts consumed.

All this time the relatives were about. Children and elders alike were forbidden to eat or drink. When the body was half cremated and again after it was consumed the speaker delivered an oration. After the pyre had burned to coals, everybody left except the fire tender. This would be early the next morning, e.g, if the cremation had begun early in the night. [262] [537]

When the fire had burned out, four holes were dug close to the heap of ashes, two on the south side, two on the north. Then the fire tender, starting at the west end of the heap, scraped the ashes alternately to the north and south of the center line. He then divided these two piles to the west and east, so as to form four piles. Each was put in its respective hole and covered with dirt. Dirt was also scattered over the whole place. "Then the rain obliterated all signs. It is better that way."

At the funeral of a man who was a singer, the Maricopa (but not the Halchidhoma) had singing and dancing; even the relatives rose to dance. They then returned to cry over the dead. The songs were those the dead man "had liked," i.e., those he had dreamed. The same songs and dance were repeated in their mourning ceremony. 766 533 535

Everything within the dead man's dwelling was destroyed. The objects were thrown into a hole dug beside the house, or sometimes within it. The house was then burned down. This was done because the sickness might have been left in the house, and also, if these articles were left about, the dead, returning, might be seen in dreams and the survivors sicken and die too. They 768 [775] [753]

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Hoĺchidhoma
Mohave

346 765 varâu'k[4], was designed to house those who took the part of enemies. It was formed of willow branches stuck into the ground with their tops bent over and tied together. Four days were occupied in building this simple structure. At the end of that time, a large number of men gathered to build the shade, called mâtk,ă'l l,uwe'vâ, "meeting shade," for the use of the mourning relatives and their friends. This also was worked at very slowly, occupying a second four-day period and being completed on the day of the ceremony. Meanwhile, a selected group built the woodpile and erected a tall post. The shade was placed at the center of the ground where the ceremony was to be held. The oval structure was to the southwest of it, in order to be out of the way of the villagers who later approached from the four cardinal directions. The post was near the eastern side of the shade and the woodpile a little south of this. The clothing they had gathered was placed on the pile of wood. Children were made to keep away from these structures.

765 The mourners were clustered under the shade before the invited villagers arrived. If the ceremony was to take place in the evening, the latter would have started from their homes in the late afternoon. They halted while yet a hundred yards distant from the shade. Each of the four bodies of villagers,[3] following a leader, moved slowly toward the shade from the four cardinal [537] directions. They each halted four times while the leader made a speech, the fourth time being in the shade. These leaders were the same speechmakers who figured when a man died. The four columns arrived in the shade simultaneously, whereon they all burst out crying. Again their speakers addressed the throng; in order, the one from the south, north, west, and east (*sic*).

The image was next borne out to be erected on the post. Those who carried it made it turn from side to side in time to the measured words of the speakers.[4] It was stood against the post

[171] [3] Only four bodies were mentioned, one for each direction. It may be that villagers from divers places were marshaled in four groups as in the Papago Vikita (Mason, *Papago Harvest Festival*, p. 14).

[4] Note here that the speakers had a jerky, measured delivery, also noted for the Mohave (Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 750).

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765 made. When the woodpile was half burned down, all left except
[537] the mourners. The speaker then told them to bear up under their loss, speaking as though the death had just occurred. He then left. The man who tended the cremation also tended this burning. He handled the image carefully as though it were the corpse. He saw that it was wholly consumed, divided the ashes into four parts, and buried them in four holes. Then the mourners left.

[783] Those who made the image and those who took part in the sham fight had to observe the precautions of purification for four days, abstaining from salt, etc., just as at a death.

MARICOPA MOURNING CEREMONY

765 The Maricopa ceremony, which was much simpler, seems not
[184] to have been held for every man, but only for those who were exceptional as singers, orators, or warriors. At this time they sang the songs dreamed by the deceased or enacted a fight in which he had participated, and burned contributions of clothing and belongings. There was no image and no shade built. Further, the ceremony was not on the anniversary but took place within a few days after the death.

Three days after the death of a great man (a warrior, speaker, or singer), some man would arrange this ceremony (called hĭc-pask, "showing"). It occupied an entire day, the burning occurring late in the evening. He selected a place where they made a woodpile as if to cremate. Everyone brought clothing, piled it on the pyre, and burned it. Men yelled and women raced back and forth.

Kutox remembered this done for a man, a war leader who in his day had carried the feathered pike "standard." It took place on the fourth day after his cremation. Word was sent to the Hal-
[648] chidhoma at Sacate and to the Pima. They were invited because this man had always invited these tribes when he went to war. He was always successful. All who came wore their finest clothing and were armed as for war. One carried a feathered pike. When they arrived they rode around the site and then, to one side, enacted a certain battle in which the deceased had fought.

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He with the pike took the part of the deceased. Speech making went on all the time the sham fight continued, but there was no singing or dancing. At the end everyone stripped himself of clothing, weapons, etc., to place on the woodpile, which was then burned. [765] [537]

A mourning performance for a singer was described as follows. The Maricopa husband of the sole surviving Kohuana was a man who dreamed of the buzzard and sang Buzzard songs. Although he was ill, he accompanied a large party to Mexico, where he grew worse. His companions went farther, expecting to take him on their return. But a week later, when they returned, they found he had died and been buried (*sic*). The others came home. His relatives gathered at the dead man's house. They mourned two days: on the third day they built a pile of wood, sang and danced until late in the evening, when they burned everything. They burned the house and his possessions, threw away food, etc. This man had had four gourd rattles with which he taught, at night, anyone who wanted to learn his songs. Those who knew his songs well (Kutox, my informant, among them) sang at this time. The rattles were burned on the heap of clothing. Although this occurred sixty years ago, these songs were never sung again, until last year (1928) when an old man sang them. [768]

Normally the songs of the deceased singer were used at the cremation, again at the mourning rite, and never again. Of recent years, however, songs have been resurrected only a short time after cremation. [533] [178]